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March, 1952

Fellowship

JOHN and MARJORIE RAITT *Musicians*

Pacifism and Politics, by Reginald Sorensen

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ff One of the pleasanter things that this year's March winds will blow into New York will be "Three Wishes for Jamie," a new musical show starring John Raitt, whose picture, along with his wife Marjorie's, appears on our cover this month. John and Marjorie are both FOR members, and John's rich baritone, besides being heard in such successful musicals as "Carousel" and "Oklahoma," has been used generously for the Fellowship. Some time after Easter John will sing again, accompanied by Marjorie, for the benefit of the New York FOR group. . . . Reginald Sorensen, whose "Christian Pacifism and Democratic Politics" was originally published by the British FOR, is a Labor member of Parliament, Chairman of the National Peace Council, and a member of the Fellowship. . . . The story of the life of one of England's great pacifists, the late Leyton Richards, is told by his wife in a moving book, "Private View of a Public Man." A fragment of it is included in this issue. . . . With the April issue we begin a series of articles on the "intentional community," a subject of lively interest to many pacifists. Articles in the series will include only communities that have established themselves as "going concerns," in the U.S., New Zealand, France, and elsewhere.

FELLOWSHIP

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Strength for These Days

Until We Join Hands Again

By J. MARTIN ENGLAND

THE BANDIT GANG had threatened Shwegu in June; now, in August, they were on the outskirts again. The elders of the town were set to watch the paths coming from the jungle. All day and night they were on duty, until others came to relieve them.

My host, Saw Henry, was one of the watchers. At dawn I looked down from my window into his little garden, to find him there digging around his beloved rose bushes as he did every morning in good weather. Neither the threat of a bandit invasion, weariness, or hunger could keep him from that pleasure.

"These are all I have left. Machine gun bullets shredded my trees," said the old widow, Ma Nu, good friend in better days, as she brought me two juicy-ripe mangoes. Not only had she lost her mango trees, on which she largely depended for a living, but she had lost her home and all the belongings in it. None of these losses grieved her so deeply as did the death from hunger and exposure of her beautiful daughter, who was as much a victim of the war as if she too had been among the hundreds in their town killed by bombs and shells. Even so, the old mother wanted to share what she had.

Maran Brang, faithful village preacher, had been true to his calling up to the very last, even though he was stone-deaf and nearly blind. At the instigation of nearby plainsmen, of a different race, he had been taken by the Kempetai at the end of a morning

service and, before the eyes of his congregation, had been beaten to death. The plainsmen wanted the paddy fields the hillmen worked; with Maran Brang out of the way, they thought, his people would flee the district and leave their rich, irrigated lands, lying not far from the village of their lowland neighbors.

Revenge Is Past

After the war, and after they had got free of the dread of the Japanese and of the "liberators" who chased them out, Maran Brang's followers met to decide on some sort of a memorial to their beloved leader. Finally one man rose to offer a scheme that was almost immediately and unanimously accepted. He said, "We know that our good teacher came to his death because of the envy of our neighbors in the plain. The time is past for revenge; both we and they have suffered too much for that. Let us build a school between our village and theirs, so that the children from both tribes may together learn to read, and all of us learn to live together as brothers."

"We would like to do it a little differently this time," said a leader among the Christians to their friend who was returning to America on leave.

For the farewell gathering, the people came from their little villages perched high up on the ridges and tucked away in deep mountain valleys. Translated very freely, this is the sense of what they said:

"You are one in a long line of people who have been sent to us by our American friends. They have put our language into writing, translated the Bible, produced text books for the schools they helped us open, taught us how to plan and prepare many useful foods we knew nothing about. They taught us about health, and they helped us learn to trust the man in the next village and the other clan, so that our tribal feuds are no more.

"Now we hear that these Americans, some of them at least, are troubled about people like ourselves whom they have helped, but from whom they are cut off by war or revolution. Some of them are saying, so we are told, that all their effort in behalf of distant peoples was like water poured down a drain. We think it is quite possible that before very long, we too may in the same way be cut off from communication with our American friends. It will not be the first time we have been so separated. When it happened before, we were very low in our spirits, until we began to realize in a new way the undergirding and sustaining presence of our Master, Jesus Christ. He was with us through the years of terror when many died from bombs and bullets and many more from hunger. We have no conceit about our own strength, but we have tested his.

To Our Friends

"And so today we send you back with this message to our friends in America, that they are not to be anxious about us. If for a little while a curtain comes down between us, in God's own good time it will be lifted. In the meantime say to our brothers to whom we send you now as our messenger that they are not to fear for our faithfulness. The same Lord will keep us in his way, whose strength they also know.

"But say this further word to

them for us. If, as happened in other years, our land should be invaded, and our brothers should come again from your land, as they did then, to bomb and destroy, they must remember *even so that we are their friends.*

"We will keep locked in our hearts the memory of other, better days, until we can join hands again in our common task."

The same Master who puts it into our hearts to love beauty, to want to share generously, to remember gratefully, to forgive, and to see above and beyond the clouds of fear and hate that set us in opposite camps whether we will or no, that same Lord works on the other side, speaks in the other language, makes himself known in forms strange and unfamiliar to us, walks on jungle paths, on dusty streets, where we may never go. He makes the hearts of men not only better than their creeds, but better often than their deeds as well. No crash or roar or burst from anything that man can house in steel, no smoke or flame he kindles, can frighten or discourage or defeat the Spirit who is at home within these gentle, earnest people of the hills. They heard him above the crackling flames of their village homes; they hear him now above the angry snarls at the council tables of the world. By him *all* veils are rent in twain, be they made of steel, or bamboo, or paper. On this side, and on that, from him men yet learn to take joy in beauty, to share, to forgive, to reach out a hand, to hope.

The Draftee Speaks

(Dedicated to the conscientious objector.)

I have no hate
But only love of life
To guide my way.
I know the hour is late
To face the world-wide strife
And change from night to day.

Yet I have long been taught
The power of love
To stem the tides of hate,
And so I grope for aught
On earth or heaven above
Lest I meet hate with hate.

I have no will to fight.
I will not fear or kill.
My only wish is for the common good.
Love is my beacon light.
Friendship must guide my will.

—AGNES RYAN

WHEN PACIFISTS EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS AS CITIZENS, WHAT IS THE RELATION BETWEEN

Christian Pacifism and Democratic Politics

By REGINALD W. SORENSEN, M. P.

THERE MAY BE MANY definitions and types of democracy, but the kind in which most American and British people believe involves recognition of individual and group minority rights. Hence Christian pacifism is free, within a society that is overwhelmingly nonpacifist, to propagate its conviction. Equally, minorities have the obligation of normally working within the context of prevailing majority decisions. Minorities cannot act as if they were majorities, but must strive rationally and peaceably to convince majorities.

There may be times when a Socrates has to resist majority conviction and drink the hemlock with spiritual courage and good grace; but this requires both earnest heart-searching and a vivid appreciation of social responsibilities lest personal witness be adulterated with irresponsible, impulsive egotism.

A Member of Parliament, for instance, though not a delegate, is a democratic representative inescapably involved in the task of reconciling diverse loyalties—to his individual conviction, his constituents, his party, the human race, and to God.

If onlookers are thankfully assured they are themselves detached from such entanglements, let them quickly realize they are, in fact, in the same boat. Even a young married couple who are "all in all to each other" still retain separate wills and judgments that may not coincide, as they discover when having to choose a name for the baby or the pattern of a new wallpaper. And if complete domestic felicity does also miraculously embrace all their relations and friends there may still be the conflicting demands of church or trade union, the local and the national Government, and the intrusion of sundry necessities from that of compassionate service to a querulous old aunt to that of representations concerning a neighbor's loudspeaker.

Relativities

Ministers of religion have likewise their own variations of this common problem, for they have constantly to relate their spiritual integrity to church wardens or diaconate, to denominational authorities, and to the several elements of their congregations, whether these be the conservative apprehensions of the aged, the

susceptibilities of helpful subscribers, or the elusive emotions of young people.

Of course one can deal with those who frustrate us by resolutely brushing them aside or by artfully circumventing them, and justify this procedure by asserting the paramountcy of one's conscience. The trouble then is that if everyone is equally arrogant or possesses a similarly meticulous conscience there is bound to be recurrent conflict and chaos. In social history the liability of disintegration has generally been avoided by the establishment of a hierarchy of authorities or at times by the imposition of a tyranny.

In our modern day there is a certain irony in the censoriousness of spiritual individualists when busmen go on strike or in their difficulty in dissolving uncharitable thoughts during Sunday morning worship because the caretaker has departed and left the building unheated, notwithstanding insistence by busmen and caretaker that conscience dictated their actions. However, subsequent reflection may have led the critics to appreciate how largely human service can be conditioned by economic factors, and that all of us should share irksome social duties. Certainly, if we do accept a displeasing discipline without disdain or bitter resentment we may enhance the virtue of a challenge when we are convinced we must make it.

As most people endorse the assumed need of armed defense, whatever may be their detestation of war, then surely we must respect the logic and consistency of their resolve to secure what they consider are effective resources. In doing this the British Government has therefore simply implemented the prevailing conviction that arms and rearmament are essential to British survival and national obligations to the United Nations. Apart from avowed or secret national enemies an attempt merely to obstruct the majority will is itself inconsistent with Christian pacifism, and may simply breed moral confusion. Without the understanding and conscious acceptance of an alternative to armed force those who endorse arms require appropriate equipment and organization, the lack of which at the outbreak of war being more likely to evoke a sense of outrageous betrayal than sudden enlightened conversion. Warriors do not become convinced pacifists on finding their weapons are missing!

Political Responsibility

Christian pacifists cannot employ the trickery of the wills of those with whom they disagree, for this invalidates their own criterion. This, however, does not mean they should not express strong warning and criticism, although the motives of so doing must be genuine and possess no ulterior design to secure by superficial and illusory means an objective that can only effectually be secured by honest agreement. With all those who strive for true peace and international fraternity Christian pacifists must exercise the political responsibility of exposing dangerous foreign policies and promote both those short and long term proposals that will assuage tensions, diminish and remove causes of friction, and advance human cooperation to meet common human needs. They must go beyond negative action to restrain conflict, and share in all those opportunities of ensuring the

direction of human energy in positive international effort. In all this it is imperative that Christians should respect the democratic technique, for the Christian faith asserts Man is truly Man not simply by the fact of his zoological superiority, but by the spiritual significance of every individual soul. Only through wise democratic processes and institutions can this be fulfilled politically.

Eventual Results

Thus it is that a Christian pacifist minority must have the hope and the faith that their scrupulous witness will steadily influence the public mind, even though immediately their impact may seem slight and they have conscientiously to accept limitations imposed by preponderating majority convictions. Yet in this Christian pacifists are akin to other minorities, including nonpacifist Christians who nevertheless equally cherish compassion, whatever may be the antithesis between this and existing law and custom. There were many who sought to translate "Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love" who became Nazi and Fascist victims; and mankind has always been blessed in every age by those who despite humiliation and suffering left the indelible impression of their moral and spiritual fidelity. In this lies implicit evidence of the reality of the invisible powers and laws of God, without which our human struggle is meaningless and there is an ever-gathering darkness. Hence there are few who do not know of circumstances where they would sooner perish than betray their profoundest love or ethical conviction, even if rational defense of their refusal appears inadequate.

Christians who declare Jesus Christ is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life" and who have become convinced that their discipleship must repudiate participation in war likewise dare not repudiate their conviction. The dilemma of relating that conviction to the complex character of existing society is not new, for Jesus himself was asked "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?" and in his reply placed the responsibility (as finally it must be placed) of determining priority in our duties to God and the State, and the implementation of the decision, upon the individual soul.

The ensuing spiritual exploration may lead to differing conclusions, and therefore we need always to seek to test and verify our individual experiences. Most though not all, Christian scholars and theologians have been unconvinced that Christian morality requires complete pacifism, and their learning and piety is entitled to every respect. But it is also true that frequently these have ignored or not condemned many evils now recognized as such by most Christians, of which slavery is an outstanding example, and, in addition, subordination of women, gross economic exploitation, intellectual obscurantism, cruel penal methods and the denial of political liberty. Mental dexterity obviously can exist together with moral blindness. On the other hand, moral and spiritual illumination has often come to us through rebels, heretics and even agnostics, which illustrates how "God moves in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform." So very much we now take for granted was yesterday scorned or assailed, but was won for us

not by "the wise and prudent," but by individuals or groups who responded to the creative Spirit of God.

These were they who found a vocational service to mankind. This is the nature of Christian pacifism, and those to whom God has given that vocation owe to him its fulfillment, whatever problems or penalties they may meet. How to do this will not always be clear, and this needs honest confession. Sometimes they will be confronted with the choice of the less of two evils, and because both individual judgments and temporal circumstances are variable there must be generous toleration and not dogmatic self-righteousness. Because we cannot isolate ourselves from society there are many times when the pathway through labyrinths may itself seem tortuous. Nevertheless, the Christian pacifist has to find the means by which in every situation he can convey something of his belief in God's deeper resources in the overcoming of evil. He has to make manifest the faith that even as Christ overcame evil with his love for human souls that was greater than their enmity, so must his followers also live. They must possess the conviction that reliance on his redemptive power involves the rejection of war because war emphasizes violence, stimulates hatred, intensifies misery, and diverts thought and energy from the way of Christ. Thus Christian pacifism declares that though righteousness be pursued and sacrifices be abundant in war yet war breeds war until it reaches the final consummation of social collapse and social suicide.

No Christian can entirely dismiss this without also dismissing the meaning of Christ and his cross as irrelevant to present reality, whereas behind all doctrinal elaboration lies the insistence that the Christian faith is supremely relevant to all mortal reality.

No Easy Path

It is vitally necessary that this fact should not suffer from either evasive sentimentality or from restrictive over-simplification. The price that may have to be paid can be as severe as war itself, for if Jesus had to endure flogging and the agony of crucifixion, and the still more poignant agony that wrung from him the cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," then they who dare in his name to face evil as he did, may not be spared the wounds and suffering this may bring. Evil can be so intense and systematized, as in Nazi Germany, as to be seemingly impervious to Divine compassion and love. Generous thoughts and gentle smiles may not prevent the lashes falling or the nails being driven. Not a candle light but a cosmic flame alone can survive the cyclonic evil of which man is capable. Hence, although there may be occasions when indignant protest has its worth, the mere denunciation of war and its wastage has only a limited value. We should remember most of us have known something of the insane fury of aerial bombardment; and peace is not necessarily advanced by reiterating sombre platitudes.

In full appreciation of the difficulties but also of the necessity of his vocation the Christian pacifist has both to avoid the subtle exploitation of emotion and yet also to vindicate the political ex-

tension of emotional and rational Christian realities. He seeks persistently to reorientate existing spiritual energies so that his society becomes increasingly responsive to the mind of Christ in times of crisis as well as normality. He must avoid putting the cart before the horse, particularly if the subconscious motive is to belabor the cart because it cannot hit back and can be visibly demolished. Destructive impulses of that kind may be instinctively gratifying but still leave the war horse rampant. What has to be sought is fundamental enlightenment and sustained conscious effort to find a way to a peaceful world. This requires the employment of both direct and indirect agencies of education and influence, in social welfare, education, politics, and economic reconstruction. All these offer scope for the social integration of creative peace.

Implementation

In the ultimate it is parliament and government that can both guide and implement the democratic will, although this operates within limits. Yet there is a sensitive interaction between government and people, for however farsighted statesmen or politicians may be they cannot for long go beyond popular endorsement; and however perverse they may be they can be checked and stimulated by public feeling. Even when our nation has accepted the responsibilities of membership in an international organization and must operate through the United Nations, yet it is still true that its weight within that body is determined by the mood of its citizens, both eminent and humble. Indeed, there is a moral duty on the part of British people, and the nationals of every other land, to speak with courteous yet forthright conviction when they believe any nation is pursuing false or unwise policies or has not sufficiently appreciated objective facts.

The issue of the Far East is the present focus of international tension. It was right that the action of North Korea should be carefully examined by a United Nations Commission, and the verdict of its aggression made clear. There was logic and consistency in the consequential diplomatic and military action, for the member-states of the United Nations are far from pacifist. But it was and is necessary to recognize much else: the historical background of Korea; the misfortune of the dangerous post-war partition; the reactionary nature of the South Korean government; the basic political and economic needs of the whole of Korea; the significance of the collapse of the Kuomintang in China; the provocative possession of Formosa by the USA; the failure to admit Communist China to the Security Council; the frightful aerial devastation of Korea; the cruelty, hate, and misery that has afflicted the Korean people; and the intoxicated recklessness that drove the United Nations forces to the borders of Manchuria.

All the Facts

All of this demands the profoundest consideration alike by the statesmen, politicians, and people of Britain and of all other lands. In this, Christian pacifists share with others the urgent need of ensuring knowledge of the facts of promoting sanity and forbear-

ance, of emphasizing massive perils, of remembering the tragic plight of Koreans, of counting the mounting cost in casualties and wealth, of clarifying the essential issues, and of seeking a just and equitable peace. Of course, as events have themselves made clear, Korea itself cannot be detached from the wider context of the world conflict of two groups of Powers, and the intervention of China, alike provoked by fear and provoking intense fear, now makes peace in Korea impossible without action for peace settlement over a far wider sphere.

It must be obvious that large numbers of the Koreans whom the United Nations sought to liberate from aggression must now be wondering whether the method of military liberation was after all appropriate. With their country in tragic ruin there will be many who have become hopeless and cynical, and in their desperation as liable to accept the Communist canalization of their wretchedness as did millions of Chinese peasants. And surely this is a warning of similar psychological reactions that would follow devastation on a world scale.

Plea for Reflection

This the Christian pacifist is entitled to use, without ugly recrimination or repellent self-righteousness, in his plea for reflection on the possibility of a more Christian method of dealing with grave issues and problems. Earnestly he recognizes the moral and political complexity of the difficulties and the strenuous efforts of statesmen. Equally, he recognizes the improbability of any widespread or enduring acceptance of the precise Christian pacifist conviction, and that his contribution to clamant human need must operate mainly through its constructive influence. Yet within the contemporary orbit of the present situation he can and must give his soul not simply to a call for peace, but also to urging action that will bring some solace to the stricken, renewed effort at rational negotiation, and drastic economic aid that can give promise of human well-being.

Spend for Humanity

If the human energy, skill, and wealth expended martially in Korea could have been outpoured instead towards the social upliftment of Korean humanity what a miracle might have occurred that would change the prospect of mankind and vanquish the gloom enveloping our hearts! This may seem almost platitudinous, for few may disagree. It is for Christians, pacifist or otherwise, to make the apparent platitude a dynamic appeal, until this becomes an accepted reality.

The Christian pacifist finds his faith confirmed by the extension of the Korean conflict and the menace of war with China; and this deepens his understanding of the discipline, endurance, and sacrifice his faith involves. He does not evade stern, harsh facts, and he is as fully conscious of Communist implacability and grievous repression as he is of feverish bellicosity and aggressive fear elsewhere. But beyond the re-emergence of dark, evil things he sees a world transformed by the Spirit of Christ; and beneath the forbidding surface of human fear and hate he sees the potent glory of the human soul. Because of the

privilege of his vision of ultimate reality he can stand undaunted amid the storm, and in the name of Jesus Christ, in courage and compassion, he can fulfill his vocation of bearing diversified witness to the power of God and the Prince of Peace.

The Hypothetical Situation

When, cornered, I confess
To being one of those strange pacifists,
People show remarkable restraint. "Oh, I concede,"
They say, "Your right to hold to any creed
However patently absurd. And yet
Suppose some night you found yourself beset
By bandits armed. At point of gun
Your family they threaten. Would you run?
Turn the other cheek and sacrifice your wife
Or bravely mow them down and save her life?

"Or someone tries, on thoroughfares downtown
Your mother's sacred honor to run down.
Or facing bayonets in foreign land
You're locked in combat hand-to-hand.
Or sent to Russia, plagued by Marxist hordes—
Would you not eat your words?"

I search my memory with diligence
In vain for parallel experience.
A thought occurs—What lives indeed
These struggling nonpacifists must lead!
Menaced, it would seem, on every hand
By bayonet and gun and fiery brand,
(Foiling each sinister intent
By action fierce and violent).

What would I do if captured by
A tribe of heathen aborigines who try
With jeers to shake my faith, and who
Suspend me by my ears? What would I do?
I'm tempted to reply, "My friend,
I haven't the faintest notion what
I'd do.———And you?"

—Neil Ray Hendricks

Repeat performance, after the success of the Training Unit for 1951, will be

Peace Training Unit . . . 1952 . . .

By JOHN OLIVER NELSON
National Chairman, F.O.R.

THE HEADLINE IS that last summer's Peace Training Unit, eight weeks for a score of keen student-age pacifists, was so worthwhile that the FOR is solidly setting up another this year—June 15 through August 8, with headquarters at Kirkridge, Bangor, Pennsylvania. If you have someone to nominate, or might come yourself, read right ahead down this page.

First, how did last year's PTU turn out? Eighteen students and leaders have thoroughly appraised their experience and come up with enthusiastic reactions—none more so than those of the Texas senior and the German Ph.D. girl who met there and have since decided to get married. The first four weeks found the group living like an overgrown pacifist family at Rick's farm, Peekskill-on-Hudson, with Bayard Rustin as co-ordinator, Francis Hall (of Kingwood Community in New Jersey) as dean, his wife Pearl Crist Hall as resourceful cook and assistant dean, and a notable succession of visiting seminar leaders carrying discussions. The Rick family were gracious and extremely cooperative, and the community was friendly. Informal silent worship in the mornings, shared kitchen duties, backyard lawn discussions, long earnest bull-sessions—the period "in residence" was an experience in group living that had real meaning.

For the second period of four weeks, the group headed off to direct action projects in the Philadelphia area, up-state N. Y. and in Washington. Some solid peace education projects, a lot of speaking engagements, several interracial programs, even a few out-of-hand anti-pacifist mob scenes in Washington, hardened the group into a notable unit. The Philadelphia FOR executive, Charles Walker, was particularly helpful in leadership for the group at Media, and mapped their strategy from there. Bayard Rustin was chief counselor for much of the project work.

Deeper Experience

When the summer was over, eighteen student-age pacifists, including a Canadian and a German, had been through a deeper experience of group discipline and study than any of them had shared before. They not only knew more about Christian pacifism—its basis, its history, its strategy—than probably any other group of students

anywhere, but by August 18 they had lived and declared that viewpoint with a cogency beyond anything that they had previously been able to do. As a means of raising up a cadre of convinced, poised young pacifists, the PTU did its job remarkably well. To its sacrificial leaders and its hosts, not only the Unit itself but the FOR, may well be exceedingly grateful.

For this summer the general plan will be the same, the place and leaders and some of the strategy different. Things will begin with supper on Sunday, June 15, and end with lunch on Friday, August 8. The first three weeks will be spent at Kirkridge, the mountain retreat center at Bangor, Pennsylvania, 80 miles west of New York and 80 miles north of Philadelphia, on the edge of the Poconos, and four miles along the ridge-top from Delaware Water Gap. Here a regular daily schedule of discussion, manual work, and Christian worship will be carried out, general leadership being provided by John Oliver Nelson [Chairman of the FOR National Council, and professor at Yale University Divinity School—Ed.]. Visiting leaders will share discussions. The 350-acre mountain farm, with sheep and poultry and some building to do, will be an interesting setting, and the old Kirkridge farmhouse, which has been used for many years now as a retreat-and-study center undenominationally, will provide a sense of spiritual continuity and tradition.

For the project period, the PTU group will again head out to share direct-action programs, conferences, speaking itineraries, and interracial workshops. Bayard Rustin and other FOR staff leaders will again handle the projects. At the end of the whole eight-week period, the group will return for several days of review and knitting of the fellowship at Kirkridge.

Young People Needed

What will the whole experience cost? Just what it takes for members of the Unit to reach Kirkridge and get home from there. The FOR and Kirkridge will take care of all other expenses.

Who will go? Nominations of student-age members of the Unit, by any concerned FOR member or anyone else, will be considered by a National Council committee as the twenty choices are made. *Nomination letters should be sent to Peace Training Unit, FOR, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, by April 15, 1952.* If you know an able young leader who should be a member of the PTU this summer, don't hesitate to send in his or her name right away. For in the PTU program we have the means of providing a convinced, dedicated core of young Christian pacifists for leadership in a nation and world which deeply needs all they can offer.

I do not believe that the spiritual law works in a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, the social and political fields.

—MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

Private View of a Public Man

By EDITH RYLEY RICHARDS*

THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE ACT had forced Leyton to think out his position with regard to Christianity and war. He was convinced that, however noble the motives of war might be, its methods were contrary to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ and that it was the duty of the Church to stand true to her professed faith in him as the Way, the Truth and the Life, and that to do otherwise was to becloud and indeed to jeopardize her witness to Christianity in the world from which she would soon become indistinguishable. He had no use for appeasement, but held that the Christian way of meeting evil was to stand firmly by righteousness and at the same time to oppose evil by good. He trusted that thus dealing with an enemy might dissolve his enmity and turn evil to good, but he knew it might not be so; yet he believed that it was still the course which a man or a nation professing to be Christian ought to take. He recognized that such a course might lead to temporal disaster as it had led Christ himself to the Cross, but that Christianity would only triumph in the end if men were true to it, whatever the consequences: that the only way of defending Christianity was to be Christian, and, however splendid the motives, he could not believe that to bayonet, to bomb, to blast and to blockade innocent and guilty alike, came within the sanctions of Christianity.

As far as Leyton knew in the early months of the war, apart from members of the Society of Friends, he held these views in almost complete isolation. In December 1914 he received an invitation from Henry T. Hodgkin, Quaker, doctor and missionary, to attend a conference in Cambridge on the subject of Christianity and war. He went a depressed and lonely man and came back a few days later transfigured, for he had found 130 people who thought as he did and they had together brought into being the Fellowship of Reconciliation on a Christian pacifist basis. Later the FOR gathered to itself many adherents, in many countries east and west, north and south, and it has had much influence. A branch of it came into being soon afterwards in Bowdon itself where it still functions.

Christianity First

So long as he remained in the ministry and occupied a pulpit each Sunday, Leyton conceived it as his first duty to preach Christianity as he understood it: he believed that the Church was guilty of a denial of her faith by supporting the war, its members having failed to distinguish between ends and means. It had never been a temptation to him to please or flatter a congrega-

*From the book of the same title, a biography of Leyton Richards by his wife. Allen and Unwin, London, 1950.

tion: he enjoyed his own powers of advocacy too much and in any case he was a born fighter. But now, for the first time, he found it difficult to obey the injunction to a prophet: Be not afraid of their faces. For the faces upon which he looked down from his pulpit each Sunday were those of men and women burdened with anxiety, and giving their all to a cause which they believed wholly righteous—a war "to uphold the sanctity of treaties," "to make the world safe for democracy," and, above all, "a war to end war." There was indeed a small group of staunch pacifists but most members of the Church were completely absorbed in the war, and so, in a different way, was their minister. He engaged in much controversy on the war issue during this time in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Christian World*. Once he made the mistake of using the name of the Church as his address but some members, through one of the deacons, pointed out what a mistake it had been and it was never repeated. Week by week the congregation was called upon to listen to sermons and Bible passages in which a pacifist interpretation of Christianity was often explicit but always implicit. He had no wish to be entrenched in a pulpit where he could not be answered and he announced week-night conferences where members, perforce silent on Sundays, could put the other point of view, but I doubt if any minds were changed thereby or any positions much modified. Sometimes Leyton deliberately tried to give the subject a Sunday rest. I remember one week in particular when he told me on Monday morning he felt the congregation had just about reached the limit of endurance and that he intended to preach the following Sunday on a subject remote from the controversial issue and had chosen the Parable of the Ten Virgins. On Thursday a worried face appeared at the dining room door with, "Could you possibly come and listen to something in the study?" "Something" was a half-made sermon: I listened and there was the perennial issue of war and peace sticking right up in the very center of the bridal procession of virgins. How he found it there I can no longer remember but at the time it seemed that it certainly was there and could not be banished into silence without dishonor. So there was no rest for the congregation after all. Another Sunday when the British blockade of Germany had become one of Britain's most effective weapons, he read the twelfth chapter of Romans. He read well and people always listened closely to the lessons. His voice went on pleadingly: "Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath, for it is written Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger . . ." then came a pause and swift anger suddenly shook him, and he ended—"starve 'em out!"

If I Preach Not

"Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel" was the inner compulsion driving him on and the more he became aware of the growing opposition in the Church the more strained and harsh he became. "Why must he strafe us so?" murmured one member as she left the

church after a service. An old friend of mine, spending a weekend with us, said after a Sunday morning: "He's dead right, but if I had a son in the trenches I should want to kill him."

Many members of the congregation must have been tried and exasperated beyond measure: some left, though a few, because of his attitude, came: but the strain and conflict for him also were immeasurable. Once a mother came on a Saturday morning to say that her son was home from France on leave: could Leyton refrain from references to the war next day as her boy needed strength and comfort not the planting in his mind of doubts and uncertainties? Or Lord Kitchener's death by drowning was the outstanding war news one Saturday: "They will expect me to preach about him tomorrow," said Leyton, "and I am not going to. How much does his death hinder the coming of the Kingdom of God?" Or a letter came from an old friend in London whose only son had been killed at the front. "I cannot admit into my mind one thought which would belittle his sacrifice." Truly there are vested interests in war whose value is unpriced.

It was not, however, all opposition that he met. Reference has already been made to the group which emerged inside the Church and formed themselves into a branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Support came in other strange and unexpected ways. A small boy, taunted by another at having "a — pacifist" as his minister, took off his coat and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, in the school playground, in which blood flowed. In 1916 Nannie, more than ever regarding herself as a bodyguard, out for a walk with the children, confronted a lady who was prominent in the Church with: "Why can't you all leave Mr. Richards alone? He's the best man I know." Within the home her admiration was less pronounced: after a long grim silence, she attacked him one day with some violence: "Can't you put your conscience to sleep till Mrs. Richards has had her baby?" As it would have meant putting the conscience into cold storage for several months and consciences so treated are apt to remain permanently frost-bitten, there could be only one answer. Soldiers were more inclined to agree with him than civilians. One quite outside Church circles, said: "You don't mean to say that the people in your Church think war is Christian? They'd get no one in the army to agree with them. Of course it isn't. Christianity is a beautiful ideal but quite impracticable." And another: "I know now that you are right. I was all confused when I joined up and I went to my minister for advice: he talked with me and prayed with me, so I'm in khaki, but after what I've seen I would be a CO if I had the guts."

Ahead of the Times

We found great comfort at this time in reading the life of William Lloyd Garrison and being reminded that "the world of politics is always twenty years behind the world of thought . . . and lives and works in ideals which are twenty years old." And that the anti-slavery movement in America had also rent the Churches and found them almost entirely pro-slavery, and that "all association"—ecclesiastical as well as political—"is opposed to any disrupting idea." And, most cheer-

ing of all, "An evil reaches its climax at the very moment that the corrective reform is making a hidden march upon it from an unexpected quarter."

We were often urged to take our share in war-work of a humanitarian kind: but we felt there was other work which needed to be done with less people willing to do it. Germans were being turned adrift and homeless till they could arrange to get back to Germany. One of these, a girl, stayed with us for several months. An elderly German lady who had lived and taught in Bowdon for thirty years began to attend the Church, but one day she called on us to say goodbye. She said: "I do harm to you by coming to your church; you are being called pro-Germans. I do harm to all my friends by knowing them, so I am going back to Germany where I shall be homesick and lonely all the time. I no longer belong anywhere."

The Personal Story

The Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Manchester, in 1915, collected money to buy every child of an interned German in the district a shilling Christmas present. It fell to my lot to deliver two of these at a house in Bowdon. The Austrian father of the family, an able scientist, was working while in internment for the British Government. I was received by his wife, a well-dressed woman, in a well-furnished drawing-room. When I had explained why I had come and handed her the two cheap gimcrack toys, she began to cry. Then, quickly pulling herself together, she said: "Please excuse me but the children and I are so lonely."

We had much contact with conscientious objectors at this time. There was a small group of them who met in Bowdon, but many more in Manchester where periodic meetings of the No-Conscription Fellowship, with some outstanding speaker from London, were inspiring occasions when we felt we really were pioneers in a coming world movement to abolish war. I remember especially a meeting where the chairman, Clifford Allen, later Lord Allen of Hurtwood, warned men not to join the movement unless they were prepared for imprisonment, ostracism, sacrifice of all worldly prospects, and death itself. This was no idle warning, for all these might lie ahead of conscientious objectors in the 1914-18 war. Thirty-four, drafted out to France in the army, having failed to convince their tribunals of the sincerity of their conscientious objection, were sentenced by Court Martial to be shot, though, owing to eternal vigilance, a question was asked in Parliament just in time to save them, and their sentences were commuted to ten years' penal servitude.

Pin Pricks

As we left the brightly lighted hall with the unaccustomed comradeship, and went out into the dark and murky Manchester streets, it was in an exalted mood that we said goodnight to each other. But next day, for most pacifists, instead of the challenge of "blood, toil, tears and sweat" there were only pin-pricks. A psychologist gave it as his considered opinion that physical fear was the subconscious motive behind pacifism (he did not generalize as to the subconscious motives behind soldier-

ing); or one would be cut by an acquaintance in the street. But many faced worse than pin-pricks, like the boy who had to leave home because his parents were so ashamed of him. One CO was forsaken by his young wife who could stand him no longer and left him, with a white feather for remembrance.

Many conscientious objectors came to see Leyton. They were of all kinds. Some were large-minded idealists; some, tiresome individualists; some were intellectually able, strong, clear, and confident as to their duty; others were weak, muddle-headed, and incapable of standing up to argument, yet groping their way to a position they felt to be right. The less certain ones were apt to present to the world a jaunty air which soon dropped away when they were among friends: they were usually those who had suffered most from relations and companions and they walked through the world unsustained by understanding, unsupported by approbation. When such as these came to see Leyton, after a time, sounds of cheerful laughter would come fom the study and it seemed to me that they walked down our garden path with firmer step and shoulders squared.

Trouble Brewing

Leyton had been a member of the No-Conscription Fellowship and its Committee since its inauguration, though he resigned in the spring of 1916 as he did not entirely agree with some points in its general policy. Before his resignation he had signed a leaflet called "Repeal the Act," protesting against the Conscription Act passed early in 1916. It was signed by the eight members of the Committee, including three Quakers. On May 10th, 1916, each of the eight was summoned to appear before the Court of Summary Jurisdiction at the Mansion House on a charge of prejudicing recruiting and military discipline. The two policemen responsible for Leyton's appearance in court saw him to London Road Station, Manchester, and then said rather bashfully: "We think, Sir, it would be best if we travelled up by the other line and we will meet you at Euston." So a good journey was had by all.

On Trial

There was not much room for the public in the small court where the trial was heard.* Bertrand Russell and Mrs. Despard had managed to get in, and there were press men everywhere in the space they could find. Mr. Clifford Allen, Chairman of the Fellowship, and Lord Derby, Director-General of Recruiting, shared a bench. The word *Deus dirige nos* were carved on the back of the dark oak chair occupied by Sir Alfred Newton, the magistrate hearing the case. Mr. Bodkin appeared for the prosecution and in opening his case quoted a sentence from the leaflet: "Conscription involves the subordination of civil liberties to miltary dictation"—and then went on: "That is not only false, it is mischievous. . . . The Tribunals are democratic and popular. . . . It is the highest form of freedom to allow a man to fight for his country in a war which if waged unsuccessfully may be disastrous to his country." "War which is wrong . . ." he read from the leaflet; then, pausing and fixing his eye on the magis-

* I owe many of the details of the trial to a contemporary account of it by Mr. Fenner Brockway.

trate, he reached his most compelling argument. "Suppose this view were held generally, there would be no men to carry on war either offensive or defensive. War would become impossible if all men held the view that war is wrong." The accused men smiled. Lord Derby gave evidence, and asked by the magistrate, (though Defending Council protested), whether in his opinion the leaflet would be likely to prejudice recruiting, he expressed his opinion that it would. General Childs came next: he was in charge of the disciplinary work of the army and dealt with reports of all Courts Martial dealing with COs. He considered that the influence of the leaflet would be entirely subversive. Asked if he knew any Quakers, he replied, "I am glad to say I don't."

The Defense

The Defense was largely based on an assurance given by Mr. Herbert Samuel in the House of Commons in January that year, to the effect that "Meetings which are limited to opposition to the passing of the Military Service Bill or to advocating its repeal if passed into an Act, or to any opposition to any extension of Compulsory Service, and writings of the same character would not be liable to suppression."

The Quaker, Edward Grubb, was the first defendant to give evidence. He gave his answers in the witness box, quietly, true to Quaker tradition, and some present felt they were indeed back in the days of religious persecution if such as he were regarded by the State as a criminal. Cross-examined by Mr. Bodkin, he was asked if he knew that branches of the No-Conscription Fellowship were coming into being in guardrooms: "No, but I approve of it," he said unwaveringly, "and it is exactly what my Quaker ancestors did in the Seventeenth Century."

Leyton was the last witness; after stating his experiences in Australia as his reason for signing the leaflet, he went on, according to a press report of that time:

> "I signed the leaflet as a Christian man. Jesus Christ was the Prince of Peace." "Others speak of the God of Battles," commented Mr. Bodkin. "Not in the New Testament," replied Mr. Richards. "The Bible says 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'" "Kindly finish the quotation," said Mr. Richards. "Do you remember that Jesus Christ said 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's'?" asked the presiding magistrate. "Yes, 'and unto God the things that are God's,'" Mr. Richards responded with a swiftness which took the magistrate's breath away. "I do not think we had better discuss theology further," he remarked.

Sentence was passed, the maximum penalty being imposed of £100 on each of the eight defendants, with £10 costs or sixty-one days' imprisonment in default of distress. The defendants enjoyed the description of themselves in the *Daily Express* next day in the headline, " 'Pasty Faces' convicted." They appealed to Quarter Sessions and were heard at the Guildhall on June 28. General Childs was again a witness for the prosecution and said it would be a good thing for the discipline of the army if the conscientious objectors were eliminated from it, but his way of eliminating them was to shoot them. When pressed on this point he said this was his theoretical view. The defendants' case was strengthened by the fact that one of their number, Councillor Morgan Jones, had

o be brought out of Cardiff gaol to ttend. He was there undergoing a entence of four months' imprisonment for refusing to obey military rders. He was attended by two olicemen and looked worn and ll, but he gave his answers with reat pride. He had been in soliary confinement for three weeks. The Mansion House decision was pheld.

On the same day, also at the Guildhall, Bertrand Russell's apeal was being heard against an dentical sentence for a leaflet he ad published defending a CO alled Everett for refusing to obey military orders. On the wall facing he magistrate in this court were he words *Audi Alteram Partem.*

At the very moment when these ases were being heard in London, he anti-militarist, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, was being tried in Germany. June 28, 1916, is a date to be remembered in the annals of antimilitarism.

Both the Mansion House and Guildhall trials were held in full ublicity, and all involved in them were prominent men well able to defend themselves. And yet, reading the press reports after more han thirty years, I think no one could regard them as free from rejudice and war-mindedness on he part of the prosecutors. Even ess unprejudiced were many of he happenings at the Tribunals, where obscure, often almost speechless, conscientious objectors had to convince unsympathetic men of heir sincerity.

The day after Leyton got home rom the Appeal, three deacons rom Bowdon Downs Church alled. He thought at once that a ast straw had broken the camel's ack, and now the resignation which he had offered several times during the past twenty-two months was going to be accepted. What then was his surprise when they handed him an envelope which contained a cheque for £100 to meet his fine! Strain in the Church had been great but it had never become friction; profound difference had never become intolerance; there had been imperfect appreciation of the views held by each side in the controversy but mutual respect had survived. At the same time, Leyton felt that the breaking point would soon come and he wrote a letter to the Church members resigning:

> As I look round from the pulpit, I am not blind to the condition of the Church, nor are my ears deaf to the criticism that reaches me through various channels. I receive letters of remonstrance and appeal, and I cannot but be aware of the distintegrating effect of my preaching on the congregation generally. Reluctantly, but decidely, I am driven to the conclusion that, with individual exceptions, the Church of Jesus Christ today receives the message of "Peace and Goodwill" with pain, and unless the preacher will qualify the message in favor of the present war, his ministrations are a constant irritant and an unwelcome infliction.
>
> I do not complain of the attitude adopted by those to whom I refer. On the contrary, I bear witness to their consistent courtesy to me personally, and to the truly Christian forbearance which they have exhibited in their attitude to "liberty of prophesying." I am conscious of no attempt forcibly to abridge this liberty; but I know that so long as I exercise it in fidelity to Christian Truth, as I conceive it, worship is impossible to many of my hearers, and the Sunday services embitter rather than bless.
>
> I am often asked why I cannot let disputed questions alone. I wish I could. But so long as I am set to preach the Gospel of the Prince of Peace, I cannot. To me war and the situations incidental to it are such a flagrant challenge to my

whole conception of Christianity that silence on my part in regard to these things would be infidelity to One whom I call Lord and Master. . . .

I need not elaborate the case. You will see that I am "in a strait betwixt two." . . . I see but one exit. I must seek outside the ministry of this Church that opportunity which I cannot honorably find within it, of bearing witness to the faith I hold.

They, too, agreed that the time had come for him to go but they proposed that he should still remain their minister and be given leave of absence for the duration of the war and serve in the Friends' Ambulance Unit, while they continued to support his family. He had at the outbreak of war, considered offering himself to the F.A.U., but had decided then, and was still of the same mind, that he was called upon to make a more outspoken protest against war than was explicit, though it was implied, in such service.

His resignation therefore stood.

Victims of the Aftermath

Although we give the conflict other terms—
Defense of sovereign rights, or holy rage—
The sorry course of history confirms
Identity of those on whom we wage
The cruelty of war in its deep wrath:
Children are victims of the aftermath.

Whatever be the race, whatever wrong
We would avenge—gun, gas or bayonet,
Blockade, reprisal, bomb—(See, we are strong!)
The eyes of children multiply the debt
Which war builds up when hope is cancelled out
By faith's hypnosis or by regnant doubt.

—ELINOR LENNEN

Success Story

Judas did not hang.
They told us that to make the story moral.
Judas lived, invested cagily the coins
Bought a seat within the temple
Changing money—at enormous profits—
Building capital—but all within the law or almost—
Outgrew race and nation
(Greed knows neither)
Greater now than either,
Financed tyrants, stirred up wars, filching cannily
From victors and from vanquished;
Of that first silver shoestring
Forged a cable
To chain the world.

—GRACE K. SHAW SMITH

News from the Peace Front

Niemoller Urges Refusal to Fight

Pastor Martin Niemoller of Germany, a strong opponent of remilitarization of his country, recently received a letter from a frantic German mother, appealing to him for comfort and advice.

"I myself do not yet believe that German rearmament is inevitable," he wrote her. "But if it should come, my three sons will certainly refuse military service, and take the consequences, and I can only advise your son to do the same, even though I cannot make such a decision for him."

About Pacifists and CO Regulations

Australia exempts all COs judged sincere, "whether the ground of the belief is or is not of a religious character, and whether the belief is or is not part of the doctrines of a religion."

The Brethren Service Commission announced in December that it would use COs wherever possible in its program if such work is approved as alternative service by the government.

Superior Judge Arthur C. Shepard in San Francisco on January 4 denied citizenship to Arthur C. Jost, a conscientious objector who is the West Coast regional administrator for the Mennonite Central Committee. Three other pacifists were granted citizenship, however: Mrs. Leon Sanborne in Columbus, Ohio, and Dorothea Zukierelli and Otto Theodore Benfey in Philadelphia.

According to a memorandum now in the hands of local draft boards, a CO classified I-O who fails to report for a physical exam when ordered to do so may be assigned to civilian service without one. The CCCO reminds COs that this examination is for their own protection, and should not be skipped except for reasons of conscience. Every I-O is entitled to an examination if he wishes it, and may not be ordered into service without the opportunity to have one.

The National Service Board for Religious Objectors has compiled and mimeographed pronouncements of various religious bodies on COs, which may be obtained by sending 25c to them at 1105 K Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

The Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians has printed a folder containing excerpts from the proceedings of the Presbyterian General Assembly dealing with COs. The NSBRO recommends that other denominational groups do a similar job for their COs.

The Moravian Provincial Synod at its meeting last September associated itself with the Affirmation and Appeal of the Conference on the Church and War.

Religious Program Cancelled at OSU

The "Religion in American Life" program that was to have been held on the campus of Ohio State University was definitely cancelled on November 9, in spite of slight modifications in the ruling of the Trustees and President Howard L. Bevis on screening of outside speakers. The original ruling that all outside speakers must be approved by the President first came to public notice when Cecil Hinshaw's appearance there under the auspices of the student FOR group was banned. In spite of widespread protests by student and faculty groups, as well as religious leaders and others outside the university, the trustees confirmed their order.

In October Dr. Marvin Fox of the Philosophy Department resigned as chairman of the Religion in Life Week, in which a number of outside speakers always participate, and other members of the program expressed doubts about the "gag rule." On November 8, apparently in an effort to make this program possible, President Bevis announced some modification in the ruling. However, those responsible for the Religion in Life Week, which is co-sponsored by the University, said the ruling was too late and too limited for them to revive their program. Dr. Fox said that if he interpreted the new ruling correctly as meaning that religious groups might act on their own but "the screening rule still applies to any activity in which the university itself has a part, . . . I would not be interested in participating in the program."

In December, in the face of continuing protests, the board of trustees issued a new order, called a "further interpretation," which virtually rescinded the gag rule. It provided that faculty members could select speakers without submitting them to screening, leaving it to their discretion whether or not to consult with the President.

Opinion on the campus is divided as to just what this will mean in practice, and probably no one will know until a "controversial" speaker is invited to address a meeting there.

Conscientious Objectors in Prison and Elsewhere

Sentenced since the beginning of December were Arnold Schroder, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 5 years; and Roger Rose, Howard Harris, William Georgeoff, Jr., and Timothy Slevin, sentenced to 3 years each in court in Los Angeles.

Men convicted and sentenced include Frank Broderick, sentenced in San Francisco to 3 years; Vincent Lamb, sentenced in St. Louis to 3 years; Tom Harrison, sentenced in San Francisco to 1 year; and Donald J. Johnson, sentenced in Omaha, Nebsaska to 3 years.

William Floyd Reed, 31 year old Denver Jehovah's Witness; George J. Meade, 26 year old farmer of Alamosa; and Joe P. Salaz, Jr., a printer's apprentice of Montrose, all in Colorado, received three-year prison sentences in Denver in December. Bill Mack West, who complied with every step in the conscription process till it came to taking an oath of allegiance, was sentenced to 5 years in prison and $1,000 fine.

James Cobb, Mennonite CO from Valparaiso, Indiana, was court-martialed at Fort Meade, Mary-

land, on a charge of violating a lawful order, and sentenced to 3 months at hard labor and $50 fine. Cobb claims he was illegally inducted into the army and refuses to accept army pay or take any part in the military program.

Joel Doty, one of the four brothers, applied for parole to "offer the 'system' an opportunity to release me." The system failed to take advantage of its opportunity and refused him parole, and his three brothers waived parole when their applications were due.

Edmund Baron and Henry Koster of New York had their sentences reduced from 5 to 3 years each by Judge Samuel Kaufman; and William Zeo's was reduced from 3 years to 2 by Judge Thomas J. Clary in Philadelphia.

Recently arrested were Don Tolmachoff of Arizona, Michael J. Conklin of Illinois, Edwin Brown of North Carolina and Chester Keller of Pennsylvania.

Robert Cannon, in the Federal Prison Camp at Tucson, Arizona, would like to thank the many individuals and groups who sent him holiday greetings.

Storrs Olds of Massachusetts received a 90-day sentence for returning his draft card, refusing to fill out a questionnaire, and refusing to report for a physical examination or for induction.

Jim George was denied release on bail by U. S. Supreme Court Justice Douglas pending his appeal.

The CCCO has withdrawn its appeal of the cases of Amos Brokaw and Stephen Simon on the second prosecution issue, because it promised small chance of success and would have cost too much.

Ken Champney, Don Nagler and Duane Metzger, in the federal prison at Ashland, Kentucky, are serving as guinea pigs in a jaundice experiment.

Robert Somers, who was eligible for release on good time from a year-and-a-day sentence on December 9, served an additional thirty days because he could not pay a fine of $200 and would not let his friends pay it for him.

Dwight Platt of Newton, Kansas, was registered by prison officials and has been released.

Earl Glauert and Donald Fisk have been released on good time.

The prosecution pending against Dr. Kenneth Gale Pottee of Boston for refusal to register for the doctors' draft has been dropped.

Dear Sansei:

I am almost well now. I could not make up my mind to die. I remember what you said when you went back to America . . . that you would remember me and pray for me from America. I could live again by the kindness of you and the others. I want to become a person worthy of your trust. I hear that you are coming back to Japan. Many homeless people are giving thanks in your "house of love."

Now I must leave hospital and rest at home . . . but I have no home to go to. I wonder if you will kindly let me live in the house which you build?

Sachiko

Sachiko is one of thousands of Japanese children who suffer and die from tuberculosis as a result of poor food and bad housing. For them the war is not yet over.

HELP US BUILD A HOUSE FOR SACHIKO THIS YEAR

HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA
3959 15th Street N.E.
Seattle 5, Washington

Organize Mothers Group for Peace

The World Organization of Mothers of All Nations, Inc., has been founded in New York with Dorothy Thompson, well-known journalist, as President, to speak for women above the battle of contending forces, on behalf of life itself.

Its statement declares that "There is no way partially to abolish war, by paper agreements, or by limitations or reductions of armaments. History is strewn with the bones of such measures. . . . If these preparations [for war] are undertaken, as all states proclaim them to be, only out of fear, the way to end the fear is to end the preparations—mutually, simultaneously, and progressively, with nothing less in mind, and fixed within a stated time, than the total, universal disarmament of the whole world."

The Army has informed the CCCO that "The training in mine laying previously conducted in the Medical Replacement Training Center was discontinued approximately 1st December 1951." This is probably the result of efforts of the CCCO and other organizations to halt this and other abuses of the I-A-O position.

CHRISTIAN YOUTH CONFERENCE ON WAR

April 25, 26, 27

Columbus, Ohio

Sponsored by

Nineteen denominational peace groups affiliated with the Church Peace Mission, and 72 church leaders of youth.

TOPICS

Conscription, militarism, disarmament, civil liberties, conscientious objection, communism, race relations, nonviolent resistance, intentional communities, vocations, personal discipline in a time of crisis.

LEADERS

Prof. JOHN OLIVER NELSON, Yale Divinity School; Prof. EDUARD HEIMANN, New School for Social Research; Prof. GEORGE M. GIBSON, McCormick Theological Seminary; A. J. MUSTE; BAYARD RUSTIN; Prof. DON E. SMUCKER, Mennonite Biblical Seminary.

For reservations or information write

Church Youth Conference on War

513 West 166th Street New York 32, N. Y.

Urge Dulles to Visit Moscow

Japanese religious groups, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, issued a statement to John Foster Dulles at the time of his visit to Japan in December expressing regret that he had not visited Moscow as well as Tokyo and striven "with the same untiring energy that he had devoted to making peace with Japan" for "reconciliation with the countries on the other side of the Iron Curtain."

The statement expressed disapproval of the rearmament of Japan and warned against making Japan a military base for possible atomic war, which would be likely to make "another Korea" out of their country.

Come to the Interracial Workshop!

When: This summer, July 1-31, 1952.

Where: Washington, D. C. and possibly Kansas City, Missouri.

How many: Fifteen to 25 men and women.

Why: Because interracial tensions, though in many ways they are being eased, are still a great problem, and one with which we must be concerned.

How much: Approximately $80, including room and board. Ask about possibilities for scholarship help, if you need it.

How: By nonviolent direct action, with the help and guidance of trained leaders and speakers who are experts in the field.

Write to: George M. Houser, Interracial Workshop, 513 West 166th Street, New York 32, N. Y.

You've waited a long time for this!

BAYARD RUSTIN SINGS

On records, for the first time, you can hear Bayard Rustin sing. Prepared in time for Easter, this brand new 10-inch, non-breakable 33 1/3 rpm long-playing record brings you a series of spirituals covering the life of Christ from Advent to Crucifixion and Resurrection. Interspersed with brief selections from Scripture, read by James Farmer, these twelve beautifully sung spirituals make up a half-hour of profound and moving enjoyment.

This record would make an excellent gift for Easter or any other occasion. Because of its religious nature, it would also be very fine as the basis of an Easter or pre-Easter worship service.

$2.95 each

Add 20¢ for packing and 25¢ for postage for an order of 1 to 3 records.

Add 25¢ for packing and 35¢ for postage for an order of 4 or more.

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, New York

Jottings

An estimated 247,000 persons died as a result of the atom bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, according to the News Letter of the Hiroshima Peace Center, founded by the Rev. Tanimoto. This includes 122,000 civilians and 125,000 military personnel. The latter figure was never included in earlier estimates, which usually ran around 100,000.

Gift packages up to $25 in value may now be sent without export license to religious, charitable and educational groups abroad. Previously only gifts to individuals were free of controls.

The American Friends Service Committee reported in January that contributions totalling over $5 million were received during 1951 for relief and social service.

The Boston Wheat-for-India Campaign, reported in the December issue as having raised $700, actually raised $7,000 by auctioning off wheat in Harvard Square last fall.

In January the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church reaffirmed its opposition to UMT, and the Maine Council of Churches passed a unanimous resolution to that effect. Also in January, 84 Protestant clergymen representing 15 major denominations in Western New York took a strong stand against UMT.

The Southwest FOR is sending letters to all college seniors in the Los Angeles area inviting them to choose pacifism rather than a military career, to counter the military letters urging them to volunteer.

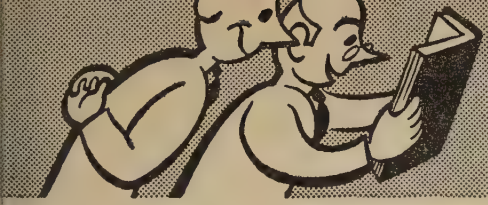
The Washington Federation of Churches has completely eliminated racial segregation in its program. The Federation embraces more than 400 Protestant churches, both white and Negro, in the capital.

The National Council of Churches is again sponsoring the One Great Hour of Sharing this year, during which a special offering for relief and rehabilitation is taken in local churches. March 23 is suggested as the Sunday for the appeal.

Church World Service distributed cash and supplies totalling $5,753,291 overseas during 1951.

The British Peace Pledge Union received gifts from Sir Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh, among others, for a Christmas sale.

FOR members Wayne Marker and Mrs. Albert Boeke of Evansville, Indiana, are sparking a drive to eliminate discrimination and segregation in Evansville. They have already met with representatives of the Council of Churches, the NAACP, the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, etc.



Books

India and Bunyan

Search After Sunrise, by Vera Brittain. Macmillan Company, 1951. 271 pp., $3.00.

Valiant Pilgrim, by Vera Brittain. Macmillan Company, 1950. 440 pp., $4.00.

The first of these books by the well-known British pacifist, Vera Brittain, has only recently come off the press. In it the author has combined a sprightly "log" of her travels to and from and in India toward the end of 1949 and early in 1950 with her report and analysis of the World Pacifist Meeting held in December 1949, attendance at which was the chief reason for her journey. She was a delegate from the Peace Pledge Union, of which she was at that time National Chairman.

The book is highly readable and contains some valuable material, though it is not a great or indispensable work. The World Pacifist Meeting was not distinguished for the profundity or intensity of its discussions nor for the significance of its decisions regarding pacifist world strategy. Its chief value was in the personal contact which a hundred or so leading pacifists all over the world made with each other and the opportunity to see India and some of the types of Gandhian activity, which it provided for the non-Indian delegates. I think Vera Brittain caught many of the high spots of the meeting and, if I may mix my metaphors, conveys the "flavor" of them successfully.

She deals critically and, in this reviewer's opinion, correctly in the main with the lack of a Gandhian movement in India, the nearly fifty percent of India's national budget directed to the military establishment, the failure of most of the leading disciples of Gandhi at the World Pacifist Meeting to deal straightforwardly with the India-Pakistan question, and Nehru's ambivalence. In spite of the fact that she leaves out some important items—there being no reference whatever, e. g., to the discussions about a Peace Army and the setting up of an International Liaison Committee of Satyagraha Units—this is really the only available story of the World Pacifist Meeting and essentially a good one.

As for the travelogue part of the book, some readers will think there is too much Vera Brittain and her appearances at innumerable functions in it, but others will love it, and in this part, too, I think she manages to convey what the trips around India were like to many of the delegates.

Space permits only a very brief reference to the second book, an excellent study of John Bunyan and Puritan England. FELLOWSHIP readers will value the parallel she draws between that turbulent time and our own and between Bunyan, who served 12 years in prison as a conscientious objector against the restrictions in religious liberty

under the Stuarts, and the COs of today. The author is a staunch exponent and defender of the later as well as the earlier nonconformists.

She visited practically every place Bunyan ever set foot in or on in preparing this book, and those who enjoy or make a study of historical details will revel in her descriptions of scenery, buildings and people.

—A. J. M.

Guns and Butter

War and Progress, by John U. Nef. Harvard Univeristy Press, 1950. 464 pp., $6.50

Beginning with the invention of gunpowder and fire-arms, this is a chronicle of war as related to science, industry and commerce. It discusses such widely separated items as whether war was an incentive to industrial progress and what were the material and intellectual restraints on war. The author reports that "the rise of standing armies stimulated the manufacture of clothing in standard patterns and colors and in several standard sizes." Although "standardization has promoted large scale production and sales in large lots," it "would hardly have led to industrialism" by itself for "standardized products had become an important part of economic life in the early Roman Empire without producing an industrial civilization."

Industrialism plus the concept of universal conscription made for total war. "The role of war in promoting industrial progress had been small compared with the role of industrial progress in bringing on war." Moreover, says the author, "the very totality of modern wars has made the transitions from peace to war and then from war to peace much more difficult than those of the era of limited warfare." In other words, the industrial state tends to become a military state and progress both material and intellectual, in a state geared for war, is always retarded.

The author comes to the conclusion that "the future of industrialism depends not upon states becoming more heavily industrialized than they already are," but upon world community. This in turn means "the integration of industrialism, the fruits of which have been abundance, commodity, and sanitation" with the needs of people so as to establish a rich human existence not only in material but in spiritual values.

The book is not easy reading, if only because it deals in many details and historical events in the history of military science and industry, yet it is a factual account that needs to be read if one is to understand the relationship of war and industrialism.

—John Swomley

International Study

Tensions that Cause Wars, edited by Hadley Cantril. University of Illinois Press, 1950. 303 pp., $3.70

A group of top-level social scientists came together during the summer of 1948 under the sponsorship of Unesco to make "an inquiry into the influences which predispose toward international understanding on the one hand and aggressive nationalism on the other."

At the conclusion of the "Tensions Project," as it was called, each participant wrote a chapter on a certain phase of the problem of war prevention, and a common

tatement was prepared that summarized the points on which all these experts agreed. This was an unusual international meeting including French, Brazilian, and American sociologists, a Hungarian Marxist, a Norwegian philosopher, and a British and an American psychiatrist.

Particularly pertinent for pacifists is the chapter on "The Role of Expectancy" by Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Social Relations at Harvard University. He says "while most people deplore war, they nonetheless *expect* it to continue, and *what people expect determines their behavior.*" He points out that there is a common tendency nowadays to feel that only the military can solve our problems. He advocates promoting the peaceful machinery for resolving tensions within and between nations by putting our faith and our support in such organizations as the World Health Organization, Unesco, and the United Nations. He feels we ought to meet every Soviet proposal for peace with a more radical one. He warns that "to refuse to negotiate is a way of creating expectancy of violence." As to youth he says: "While conscription and military training affect the anticipation of youth in the direction of aggressive nationalism, work service camps affect their anticipation in the direction of internationalization, constructive activity, and friendly human relationships."

The titles of the chapters are "Social Tensions and Social Changes," "The Role of Expectancy," "Tensions Interpersonal and International," "Internationalizing Social Science," "Psychodynamic Notes," "The Lessons of Fascism," "A Sociological Analysis of International Tensions," and "The Function of Ideological Convictions." Pacifists will find a good deal of support in the statement by Japanese scientists in the appendix. Speaking against outmoded militarism, they say that "the role of science and education, in other words, the role of peaceful means, in the solution of political problems must increase more and more" especially since peace depends on the moral will of a people as well as on their scientific knowledge.

—Warren Gustafson

IN BRIEF

The Quest for Peace, by Eleanor M. Moore. Privately published. 208 pp., 1951. $1.50

A discussion of peace movements in Australia, with background on the world situation from before World War II up to 1949. Emphasis is on the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in which the author was active. A good, solid job with considerable detail and amusing sidelights, interesting and valuable as giving the special problems and movements of another country.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

Letters

All Second Class

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A recent letter in FELLOWSHIP brought up the matter of "Second Class Pacifists." We are all of that kind compared to Gandhi, but that is no reason we should glory in it. We should be ashamed of our timidity in the face of rampant militarism. We are great at calling the Devil names and then we jump to the other extreme and infer that Heaven and world government or world citizenship are similar. No wonder we are so weak. We fail to come to grips with reality.

When the organization gets to be more important than the ideal it is supposed to stand for, there is something seriously wrong. That is just what has happened to the churches and the unions, and now to the FOR.

In every subject under consideration there is a norm, a standard and a rule by which actions can be measured. But with the FOR there is no norm. You can be an absolutist and refuse to pay taxes, buy bonds, do war work, or register for the draft, and if in prison not cry for a parole. The bulk of the FOR membership will blush because of your forthrightness. You can also load a gun but refuse to fire it and remain, not a second class, but a full rate pacifist. Nonsense! The FOR says ten inches is a foot; Father Divine may say fourteen inches; the JW's eight inches. A foot is a foot and a pacifist is a pacifist, and not half a pacifist.

A person can say that there is a certain ideal but he does not have the courage to live up to it, or for the time being it is too inconvenient and that he will follow from afar off. That is too bad, but not half as bad as having no ideal at all, or claiming that his temporary convenience is the ideal and that any makeshift is o.k. as long as the dear old FOR has plenty of members. All this is foolishness with God and man.

AMMON A. HENNACY
Phoenix, Arizona

On Puerto Rico

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I feel I must take serious exception to parts of a paragraph on Puerto Rico in your issue of October 1951. I refer to the section in which you described the present Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Munoz Marin, as having "stood for independence when he was voted in (the first governor of Puerto Rico to be elected by her people), but has since modified his demands." This is not only actually incorrect but it carries an overtone implying betrayal on the part of Governor Munoz of some political promise.

Governor Munoz' position on the question of political status for Puerto Rico has been a changing one, this is true.... Mr. Munoz has from his youth been much concerned with the question of status and certainly much moved by and sympathetic toward the Independistas. He has been, however, and increasingly with the years, equally concerned with the severe social and economic problems of the Island. From the time when he found-

d the Populares Party in 1938, Munoz as continually sought to keep the question of status from becoming a political ssue and to concentrate on the economic nd social problems of the Puerto Ricans. Quoting from Harvey Perloff's book *Puerto Rico's Economic Future*: ". . . The field workers, the neglected andless peasants, many of whom were illiterate and most of whom had taken little if any part in politics . . except possibly to sell their votes at election time . . responded to Munoz' appeal for economic reform almost intuitively. . . ." When the time came for Puerto Rico to freely elect her own governor, Munoz Marin was the only real candidate with vast popular backing. The important fact about this brief history of the growth of the Populares and Munoz Marin is that *at no time* was the question of status an issue in the political campaigns. . . I can remember myself hearing Munoz Marin say that "political status is *not* an issue" and I can also remember his saying that "independence is a luxury that Puerto Rico can not afford." This does not in the least mean that he was not deeply interested in the question but that he has pledged himself to his people to work on the social and economic problems *first* and *foremost* and to keep, if possible, the question of status from becoming a political football and pointless rallying cry.

While I am well aware that Governor Munoz is not a Gandhi and certainly not without sin, I personally consider him to be a deeply sincere, greatly concerned and very able man. . . .

WILMA C. LUDLOW
Berkeley, California

Without Love . . .

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I would like to put in a word for the practice of donating blood on the part of pacifists. Isn't this just the same as taking part in the army as IAO? is the natural question. But I say No. There is a vast difference. When you give service as IAO that is a human activity. You do that in your own strength and with your own will. Blood is different. Man can fractionate blood and split atoms but he cannot create either one. . . . .

Blood is common to all races and creeds. It ties the world together. I grant you it can be misused, but so can love, which it represents, or grace. Our part is not to dictate its acceptance, only to offer it. . . . Christ did not come to bring arguments, views or systems, but life; and this life is offered regardless of our unworthiness. . . .

The boys who benefit from this blood —if reports are to be trusted, many are not firing when the target's in plain sight —are just as apt to prove "worthy" of it, if it comes to that, as anybody else a pacifist could help. The feelings buried in the human heart are in their hearts, too. As a heart-to-heart transaction blood donation will outpreach and outreach anything else we could do or say. . . . Our brilliant arguments, our prophetic zeal and all the rest, without love, will profit us nothing. We can talk all we want to but if we will not give of ourselves, we will not have the power we ought to have.

MRS. MILDRED HARVEY
Urbana, Ohio

Tax Increase for War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

. . . Huge increases for military purposes have recently been voted by Congress. It is estimated that following these increases, the various sums appropriated under different heads for military purposes will total approximately $70 billion out of a budget of around $90 billion. This will presently result in a sub-

stantial increase in the federal income tax.

Many persons whose consciences have been deeply troubled about paying for atomic and biological war preparation have been prevented from taking action because all moneys collected by the federal government go into the same treasury, whether they are for purposes of war or for constructive purposes to which citizens willingly contribute.

However, the increase in income tax which people are now being called upon to pay unquestionably means an additional contribution for war preparation and nothing else. It seems to us, therefore, that religious people and pacifists especially will wish to give serious and prayerful consideration to the question whether they can conscientiously pay this *percentage of increase.*

May we ask you to bring this concern to the attention of your members through whatever channels are available. Correspondence may be addressed to Rev. Ernest Bromley, Golay Road in Gano, Sharonville, Ohio.

ERNEST BROMLEY
Sharonville, Ohio

A New Technique

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Some of your readers may be interested to know of an action project in the field of social justice and law observance undertaken by a small group of volunteers to uphold the efforts of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to induce the Greyhound Corporation to abolish its Jimcrow policy of racial segregation in interstate bus lines in the South. This form of segregation has been declared unconstitutional in three different Supreme Court rulings, but the Greyhound Corporation still continues its segregated seating system on Southern buses in disregard of the law.

A small group of interested people have joined the leaders of CORE in purchasing shares of Greyhound stock in order, as shareholders, to press the matter at the next Greyhound Stockholders' Meeting. A few of these new shareholders have already written to the company management urging that the issue of segregation be included on the agenda of the next annual meeting on May 20, 1952. The secretary has replied with a summary refusal, ignoring the legal aspects of the question and stating merely that any proposals urged for "propaganda purposes" or constituting a "general political, social or economic problem" are not proper subjects for action by the stockholders.

Consequently, these stockholders have now retained a New York attorney, Conrad Lynn, to institute representative stockholders proceedings before the S.E.C. and in the federal courts if necessary, to require that the company include this issue on the agenda of its next meeting.

This reasonable and democratic approach to a problem of civil liberties would be much strengthened if it represented more widespread stockholder opinion than that of the handful of individuals now involved. And it is herewith suggested that others likewise concerned for racial justice in the U. S. might be interested in associating themselves with this action. A share of Greyhound Corporation stock at the present market rate costs something over $12.00 (including brokerage fees) and—as the earnings of the company are large—is a very sound investment.

The expenses of these legal proceedings may amount to around $1,000. Contributions, no matter how modest, are therefore welcome, and should be sent, together with all other communications, to CORE, 513 West 166th Street, New York 32; or to Conrad Lynn, Counselor at Law, 271 West 125th Street, New York 27.

CAROLINE F. URIE
South Euclid, Ohio

Remembering Gandhi

Gandhi's birthday falls in October; and the anniversary of his death in January. We didn't call attention to them then, or remind you and ourselves of the contribution he made to the techniques of pacifist action, and to pacifism as a whole, but we want to do it now.

A great many very valuable books have been written about Gandhi, and some of the best are listed below.

The Wit and Wisdom of Gandhi, **Edited by Homer A. Jack** **$2.50**

A compilation from the great man's writings and speeches, penetrating and pointed.

Great Soul: The Growth of Gandhi, **by Herrymon Maurer** **$2.00**

A study of Gandhi's development as a spiritual leader.

Gandhi: Fighter Without a Sword, **by Jeanette Eaton** **$3.00**

A well-written and interesting biography for young people.

Collision of East and West, **by Herrymon Maurer** **$4.50**

Not about Gandhi, but the background out of which he came. A fascinating study of the turbulent East.

Between Two Worlds, **by Ralph Templin** **5¢**

A pamphlet by a missionary and friend of Gandhi about the days of the early struggle for Indian independence.

South Africa Today, **by Alan Paton** **25¢**

Another not about Gandhi, but about the South African scene where he began his "experiments with truth."

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

1 Audubon Avenue **New York 32, N. Y.**

Important Pacifist Reading—

ON HOLY DISOBEDIENCE, by A. J. Muste 35c

A. J.'s newest, thoughtful essay on the responsibility, at some points, for resisting evil by direct disobedience.

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF CHRISTIAN PACIFISM, by Charles E. Raven $1.00

A compelling, readable book by one of the great pacifists of the Twentieth Century, the former vice chancellor of Cambridge University and Emeritus Regius Professor of Divinity at that institution.

ON BEING HUMAN, by Ashley Montagu $2.50

Head of the Department of Anthropology at Rutgers, the author is the leading exponent of the theory that it is cooperation, not self-interest, that is responsible for the survival of species.

ALTRUISTIC LOVE, by P. A. Sorokin $3.00

A study, of great interest to pacifists, in the necessity for altruism and love in all aspects of life, including international relations.

WHY THEY BEHAVE LIKE RUSSIANS, by John Fischer 35c

Formerly $2.50, this is an excellent study of the Russians and their country, though pacifists will not agree with his suggestions for action.

THE LAW OF LOVE AND THE LAW OF VIOLENCE, by Leo Tolstoy $1.00

A collection of essays, published here for the first time. This book formerly sold for $3.00.

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